

can be no question of negotiations between leaders. With regard to propagating the idea of the workers' government, the National Conference made it the duty of every Party comrade, not only to describe the nature of our workers' government on its positive side, but in every case to add the negative slogan: No social democratic government. This National Conference prescribed the tasks and the discipline of the Party members in the trade unions. It decided to carry on the struggle for this unity from below among the proletarian masses, and to connect this with the every-day struggles.

An essential part of the political discussion was devoted to the analysis of the economic and political situation in Austria, which the Conference characterised as belonging to those countries in which the bourgeoisie was turning from democratic pacifism to fascism. This conception, the correctness of which was confirmed a few days later by the final collapse of the Seipel government and the passing of power to Ahrer, the chief of the fascists in Austria and the industrial profiteer, Mataja, again constituted a clear break with that social democratic conception which seeks to persuade the workers in Austria that fascism is a mere trifle, in order to keep them back from fighting against it while there is yet time. The National Conference called attention to the rapidly growing acuteness of class antagonisms in Austria, and drew the revolutionary consequences therefrom: the recognition that it is the task of the Communists immediately to raise the problem of the capture of power by the working class.

There is no doubt that the mere acceptance of resolutions by the delegates of the Conference does not mean much for the bolshevizing of the Party. But the Party has taken a step along this road in laying down an official policy, which will make it easier in future to designate deviations as such, and in overcoming the underlying tendencies within the Party. The National Conference has before all brought about that which the Party has lacked up to now — a Party Executive which embraces the best functionaries in the Party from all districts and all camps.

The Communist Party of Austria is one of the oldest Parties of the Comintern. But it is undoubtedly one of the youngest among the left Parties of the Comintern. Nevertheless one can say to-day without undue optimism, that one need have no fear regarding the future of this communist Party.

OBITUARY

Comrade Jan Tomp.

By O. Rjastas.

Jan Tomp was only 29 years old. He received an elementary school education. He was first employed as an agricultural worker and later as a metal worker in the city of Fellin (in present-day Estonia). Comrade Tomp did not take an active part in politics until the year 1918. His revolutionary activity began with the existence of independent Estonia. In 1920 he was put forward by the trade unions of Fellin as a candidate for the local municipal body. He was thereupon arrested and kept a whole year in prison on remand. In 1921 he was tried for carrying on communist propaganda and endeavouring to overthrow the existing order of society. But as no evidence could be brought before the court in support of the accusation, he had to be acquitted.

In 1922 Comrade Jan Tomp was put forward by the workers of Reval as candidate for parliament. He was elected on the list of the so-called "United front of the Workers" (coalition of workers, employees etc.). In parliament comrade Tomp, along with comrades Alik and Resen, formed the communist fraction. Comrade Tomp was their chairman and at the same time the chairman of the Estonian Trades Council.

At the present trial Comrade Tomp was accused of having participated along with others in "carrying out the decisions of the Communist International and of the Communist Party of Estonia" at congresses, conferences etc. He was further accused "of having taken part in the Estonian Trade Union Congress, which had accepted as its basis the Theses of the Red International of Labour Unions, according to which, in the non-communist states, among them being Estonia, the existing social order should be overthrown and the proletarian dictatorship set up."

During the trial Comrade Tomp replied to the question of the chairman of the court, whether the accused acknowledged guilt with the answer: "I do not acknowledge myself guilty before the court of bourgeois rascals". The chairman then had comrade Tomp immediately removed from the court. Before leaving the court room comrade Tomp cried out: "Long live the workers' and peasants' government!" He was shot during the night of 14th to 15th November.

The Estonian bourgeoisie have rightly selected their victim. Jan Tomp was a genuine proletarian fighter. He had enjoyed but little school training, but his class instinct was so strongly developed that he never erred in making a decision. His policy always followed the class line, which was not the case with the policy of revolutionary intellectuals who were better educated than he.

Jan Tomp was before all a good organiser, and enjoyed great influence among workers. There was a time when workers of Reval came to him in all questions. He was no speaker, but one word from him was sufficient to decide a matter. In Parliament, comrade Tomp was rightly recognised as a gifted self-educated man. He surprised everybody by the rapid course of his development during the last few years. He was a favourite of the working class and its future revolutionary leader. It was not without reason that the bourgeoisie hated him, and in the press, in parliament etc. designated him as a "fanatic".

The working class will ever revere the memory of their brave martyr Tomp.

A Day of Remembrance for the "International Press Correspondence".

On the 23rd November exactly a year had passed since General Seeckt, the German military dictator, prohibited the publication of the "Inprecorr." The "International Press Correspondence" had from its commencement more of an informatory than a propagandist character. In spite of this it was compelled, during the period of martial law, to exercise the greatest reservation, so that we often had the uneasy feeling of having gone too far in this respect. Nevertheless General Seeckt found that we were still very dangerous, so that we were forcibly suppressed.

The prohibition only resulted in the interruption of the publication of the "Inprecorr." for a few weeks. In December the "Inprecorr." again appeared in Vienna, and precisely because the Communist press in Germany was suppressed, it increased its circulation in Germany to an extent it had never done before and introduced us into Party circles which previously knew nothing of the existence of the "Inprecorr.". In Vienna the "Inprecorr." was better able to oppose the dictatorship of General Seeckt.

That was the only positive result which General Seeckt attained by his suppression of the International Press Correspondence.

The Youth Movement.

We regret that the signature was omitted from the appeal which appeared in our last number under the above heading: The appeal, of course, was issued by the Executive Committee of the Communist Youth International.

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The Attack of British Imperialism upon Egypt.

By Observer (London).

The attack of British imperialism upon Egypt raises a great number of problems in all their acuteness. If we disregard those points of the ultimatum, the purpose of which is to humiliate the Egyptian government and brutally to manifest the power of British imperialism with regard to the whole East, we find before all three decisive points in the action of the British government: First, the further reduction of the independence of Egypt; secondly, the final annexation of the Sudan, and thirdly the unmistakable declaration to the other imperialist powers, before all to France and the United States of America, that they must not interfere with the imperialist policy of England.

The so-called independence of Egypt was established by that famous note of Lord Curzon to Lord Allenby of the 20th February 1922, which constituted an attempt to overcome the national revolutionary movement with the support of a section of the native bourgeoisie. Zaglul Pascha did not hesitate to cast communists and trade union leaders into prison. But nevertheless he was compelled, if he did not wish completely to undermine his own position, to express to a certain extent the national aspirations. He was only able to meet the opposition in his own Party by "opposing" those points which reduce independence to a farce. What sort of independence is it when British troops guard the Suez Canal and the whole of Egypt

against the "foreign enemy"? A mere piece of hypocrisy in order to justify the permanent occupation of Egypt. In addition to this, there are such impositions as the protection of foreigners and their interests, as well as of the national minorities, which has for a long time formed a special task of British imperialism, which is only exercising its benevolent activity in the interest of the "backward peoples". And then there is the Sudan, which in the hands of any great Power constitutes for Egypt a sword of Damocles. The British government has, without formally withdrawing its declaration of 1922, through the ultimatum and the steps which followed it, abolished the concessions it had granted. The Egyptian "government" is pledged to prevent demonstrations; while it will be rendered still more helpless by the taking over by the British authorities of the control of the customs in Alexandria.

The annexation of the Sudan, or more correctly said the expulsion of the Egyptians from this territory, is of still greater importance. The population of the Sudan are of course in love with British rule — at least so the imperialists say. Nevertheless this is contradicted by the fact that since 1899 the country has been under martial law. The fact is that the great Gezireh district is being opened up for the cultivation of cotton by the establishment of great irrigation works. This holds out the

POLITICS

The Corruption in the German Ebert Republic.

by W. Zink (Berlin).

The Americanisation of Germany, the Dawes colony, is making rapid strides. The embezzlement practised by a high official of the Berlin police presidency revealed that the corruption has penetrated into the highest official circles, that it has become usual for high departmental officials who, thanks to the confidence of the Social Democratic Minister of the Interior and the Chief of Police, can do just as they please and accept bribes from profiteering speculators on the Exchange and candidates for prison, and, in common with them, to cheat the State.

The revelations in the corruption scandal regarding the head of the political department of the Berlin Police Presidency occur exactly at the time when the Ebert Republic and its usufructuaries are trying to gain the confidence of the electors by a great set out over the elections. The Government Press is doing its best to hush up the corruption scandal; for not only single persons, but the whole system stands disgraced by the facts which have come to light.

The Government official (Regierungsrat) Bartels, who styled himself a German Nationalist, was the right hand of the Social Democrat Richter, the head of the Berlin Police Presidency. After the notorious chief detective Weissmann had been temporarily put on the shelf because of the attack on the Russian Commercial Delegation, Bartels took over the control of the Political Department Ia. In this capacity, Bartels occupied himself chiefly with the persecution of the Communists and of the "Rote Fahne." Through his zeal in this respect the swindler gained the confidence of the Social Democrats Richter and Severing, the Prussian Chief of Police. Bartels used his position to make profit for himself, in which he found a willing tool in the Lettish profiteer Kutisker, who had swindled his way up from being a common defrauder to the possession of not less than twenty enterprises (factories, banks etc.). The Russian counter-revolutionary Holzmann also worked hand in hand with Bartels. Richter's German Nationalist confidant had made the acquaintance of both through his official position as head of the Police Department for the control of foreigners. In this capacity he has the sole right to grant or refuse permits to reside to thousands of foreigners, among them especially Russian White Guardists. Kutisker and Holzmann bought their permits of residence and interested the worthy police official, not only in prostitutes and debaucheries, but especially in lucrative profiteering at the expense of the State and with the help of his authority as a State official! The police apparatus of the Social Democrat Richter, who soon lost his senses through Communist-baiting, served the purpose of directing profits into the pockets of a horde of unscrupulous profiteers. This is made evident by the police attack on the Russian Trade Mission in Berlin. The ferretting through the deeds and papers was by no means a ludicrous escapade, but a cunning trick of Bartels and his savoury companions to get possession of codes and secret trade agreements.

An organ in close touch with Severing, the Berlin "8 Uhr Abendblatt", states that after the attack, the Russian business affairs of the trio, Bartels, Kutisker, and Holzmann, were carried on with renewed vigour. The promising firm was able more and more to enlarge its business connections, not only by means of stolen documents, but with forged papers and passports, for which official materials, stationery and rubber stamps belonging to the Police Presidency were used. On the strength of his official position, Bartels introduced minor police officials into Holzmann's office. Wholesale supplies of visas and permits of residence were there manufactured for Russian White Guardists and counter-revolutionaries. Millions of marks were extorted from these and other foreigners.

Bartels, the villainous corruptor, supplied both the leaders' clique of the Socialist Party of Germany and the Berlin "Vorwärts" simultaneously with those lies and espionage materials relating to the Communist movement, which served on the one hand as food for the anti-Labour Press of the whole world, and on the other hand as new pretexts for violent agitation, for persecutions and imprisonments. Thus one hand played into the other.

prospect of enormous profits. Several million hectares of land are suitable for the cultivation of cotton. Not only this, but an unlimited supply of cheap labour power can be obtained; as the erection of huge dams will deprive Egypt of the waters of the Nile and whole districts will be converted into deserts, with the result that millions of Egyptian peasants will be driven to work as slaves for the Sudan Syndicate. British imperialism has taken advantage of the shooting of one of its servants in order to enforce the demands of the Syndicate for the extension of its area of cultivation in the Sudan. This is not a hypothetical problem, for within the next year or so the dams will already be erected in the blue waters of the Nile. According to the agreements with the Egyptian government, not more than 300,000 feddans of land, that is one tenth of the whole cultivated area, are to be placed under irrigation, as a greater consumption of water would already endanger the supply of water to Egypt. The Syndicate has the intention immediately to open up more than three times the area originally provided for. It is a well-known fact that, from Asquith to Curzon, the majority of the past and present English Ministers are personally interested in this lucrative business. Large loans have been granted to the syndicate by the coalition, the Conservative and the Labour government, which amount in all to over 10 million Pounds Sterling.

This magnificent plan of exploitation, which apart from general political reasons is the economic cause for the action of England, at the same time renders more acute the antagonisms between the imperialist powers. Italy is prepared to agree to the proceedings of the British government, in the expectation that in the approaching rivalries she will become a support of England and thereby be able to obtain something in return. France is openly alarmed. She fears the appetite of the stronger robber. It is proposed that this question shall be discussed at the League of Nations. Lord Curzon long ago informed the great powers that the English government would not permit any of the Powers to question or to discuss the special relations between England and Egypt. Every attempt in this direction would be regarded as an unfriendly act. What will France do? Mr. Chamberlain will visit Paris on his way to the Session of the League of Nations, and make it clear to the French Premier that the British government will not tolerate any interference. "Just behave reasonably and we can speak of the task and duties of France — in Spanish Morocco". It is possible that England will permit France a free hand in this territory. And the United States? The action of England is a cry: "Hands off this territory", which before all is addressed to the United States. The possibility of a huge production of cotton in the near future is a blow for the United States. The sharp attitude against all foreign interference, the setting up of a "Mouroe doctrine", can very easily be extended to other areas, where the United States have great petroleum interests.

We are living in an era of "pacifism". Under the cloak of the pacifist phrases of the II. International the great imperialist countries are preparing a new world slaughter. The pacifist MacDonald prepared the way for the action of the present government. He broke off negotiations with the Egyptian government, he despatched a note which put that of Lord Curzon in the shade. In order to give the present government more time and to permit it to carry through all measures without criticism from Parliament, His Majesty's opposition, the Labour imperialists, have consented that the Foreign Office debate shall not take place before the 15th of December.

But these gentlemen forget the growing power of the East. The degradation of the Egyptian government to a mere tool of British imperialism can have no other result than to strengthen the revolutionary movement. The adjournment or dissolution of the Egyptian parliament will teach the population the necessity of revolutionary organisation, along with the application of revolutionary methods on a still larger scale. Not intimidation, but greater fighting spirit and increased bitterness will be the result throughout the whole East.

It must be the task of the Communist Party of Great Britain to tear the mask from the face of the hypocritical labour imperialists, and to mobilise the working class of England for the fight against them and against the policy of the government.

The profiteering business assumed enormous dimensions. Holzmann, provided by Bartels with documents and official introductions, bamboozled German and foreign firms out of gigantic sums which were squandered. Schemes of espionage were passed on to the Entente Governments. Even the English MacDonald Government was a customer for forged documents. The chief profiteering bargain of the trio however was the purchase of the Hanau military camp, with capital from the Prussian State Bank! On the strength of references from the Berlin Police Department, signed by Bartels, Kutisker received 20 million Marks, and that at a time when credit could hardly be obtained even at usurious rates of interest. The Directors of the Prussian State Bank actually formed a Trust Company for the purchase of the Hanau camp which received war materials in large quantities. The camp was disposed of in an underhand way to Roumania for its preparations for war against Soviet Russia. Once again Kutisker, Holzmann and Bartels divided the considerable spoils which they had acquired by means of taxes and public revenue. Communist-baiters and anti-Bolsheviks can indeed make their pile in the Ebert Republic.

This little game might still be going on unhindered, if — ah, if — Bartels' two accomplices Holzmann and Kutisker had not fallen out over the profits. Kutisker refused to be the milch cow for Bartels and Holzmann any longer. The Lettish swindler had invested his ill-gotten gains in a series of enterprises, and wanted as far as possible to pocket the whole profits. Holzmann, feeling himself at a disadvantage, saw to it that Kutisker was ordered to leave the country at once and — worse still — had him arrested. But the Lettish Kutisker proved to be much better at bribery than his rival Holzmann. The tables were turned. In spite of all Bartels' efforts to the contrary, Holzmann was thrown into prison and Kutisker released on a bail of seven million gold Mks, so that he is able today to be bargaining for a compromise with the Prussian State Bank. Kutisker bought up a whole department of the Berlin Police Presidency and himself conducted the preliminary inquiry against Holzmann! Things were getting too warm for Bartels who suddenly disappeared on special leave. He returned to his post in the political police department, although the frauds of which he was guilty had already been known for a long time. An unpaid debt in a night club in the West End of Berlin started the ball rolling. Bartels was obviously short of money as soon as his accomplice Holzmann was put on trial.

In the Public Prosecutor's judicial enquiry, which was carried out on the basis of the statements of Holzmann who was now effusively outspoken, all reference to the Social Democratic Chief of Police was deliberately evaded. This shows to what an extent even German class justice regards the Berlin Police Department as corrupt!

The activities of the trio, Kutisker, Holzmann and Bartels went on for years without attracting attention in the milieu of the Chief of Police, Richter and the Prussian Police Minister Severing. These two Social Democratic handymen of the bourgeoisie had too much to do "keeping order" by putting Labour functionaries out of the way to be able to pay attention to the cesspool of corruption in their very own Administration.

The Berlin swamp of police and spies by no means stands alone. Within two weeks three serious cases of corruption came to light in Severing's department (the Bartels' scandal, embezzlement of the director of the Lost Property Department of the Berlin Police, embezzlement at the Police Court of Central Berlin.)

At Gleiwitz, police officials are undergoing trial for taking bribes. In Fürstenwalde the brutal system of ill-treatment by the Defence Police is before the court. Every day new revelations of the depravity and baseness of those organs which are let loose on the working people come to light. At the same time almost every day reports come from Prussia of bribery and other frauds by Social Democratic dignitaries who have been quickly assimilated into the capitalistic pool of corruption. In Cologne, the Social Democratic Mayor Schäfer cheated the children and the poor out of flour and milk. At a time when rationing was still in force, he fraudulently disposed of the town food-supplies to manufacturers of confectionary and sweets for the bourgeoisie, and thus pocketed hundreds of thousands. Another Social Democratic pillar of the Ebert Republic, Schönwald in Königsberg, local leader of the famous "Reichsbanner" (Social Democratic defence corps), embezzled the allowances of widows, orphans and disabled soldiers. In the Mannheim Labour Bureau, of which a Social Democrat is superintendent, gigantic defraudations of money for unemployment doles were carried on for years.

Not single cases, but the whole Social Democratic system of government is in the pillory, a system which is characterised by infamous persecution of the Communists, which secures to the ruling class uninterrupted licence for its roguery and black-guardism. The Social Democrats who have cast themselves into the bourgeois swamp, will perish in it. The bubbles of corruption which at the moment are rising to the surface in the Ebert Republic, point to such an end for the despicable Social Democratic leaders.

The Exceptional Law against the Roumanian Proletariat.

By Zamfirescu (Bucarest).

The Roumanian oligarchy had already a year ago, by means of its typical representative, the "Liberal Party", changed the constitution in a reactionary sense by passing measures which aim at strangling the freedom of the press, reducing the influence of the electorate on the lower chamber and senate, increasing the number of the appointed members of parliament, and creating a "Supreme Council for the Defence of the Realm" as the chief organ of their dictatorship. It seems, however, that all this is not "sufficient" in order to safeguard "law and order". Therefore two draft bills have recently been submitted to the chamber which deal specially with "securing order within the country". One concerns the "suppression" of acts which are directed against public peace, the other one concerns the possession and sale of arms.

The ruling classes of Roumania are observing with great dismay a development of affairs which is causing ever larger sections of the workers to set all their hopes upon the Communist International and the Peasants' International, and from thence expect salvation. The former are all too fully aware of their incapacity in the sphere of economics and finance to expect any interruption in this development. They therefore require a complex system of laws which shall hinder every attempt to organise and train these masses for the struggle, and which must nip in the bud every attempt to conduct this struggle in common with the workers of all countries of the Balkans.

The growing economic crisis seems to indicate that the whole country stands immediately before a catastrophe. In order to prevent it, a new "democratic" government must take over the helm of state, which shall guarantee the peaceful development of the country on the basis of the exploitation of the national resources by foreign capital. This government is to reveal the true state of affairs to the population and shall pledge everyone to work harder for some years and to live still more wretchedly in order to save the "fatherland". Who, however, shall not recognise this necessity must be forced to do so, and this is to be done by means of a law, that is, with the appearance of legal right and not through the "arbitrary" acts of local authorities. It is now the historical task of the liberal government to prepare this law for its successor. All parties are united upon this, with the exception of the Communist Party of Roumania and of the left tendencies within the peasants' Party. These reactionary parties reckon upon the sympathy and support of the petty-bourgeoisie, and the civil servants and officers when there is talk of adopting legal measures against the "disturbers" of order — and this hope is well founded. The Social Democratic Party is not only hastening to justify the necessity of this law, but openly advocates that everyone who speaks of revolution shall be punished, as it is entirely out of place now to speak of revolution.

Since the amnesty granted to 300 communists in 1922 the nature of the class struggles in Roumania have undergone great changes. The Social Democratic Party of Roumania has gone over to the extreme Right, and can be regarded today as the staunchest defender of "order" and the bitterest opponent of revolution and of the "bolsheviks, who are continually dreaming of revolution". A portion of the labour aristocracy, the members of the free professions and of the petty bourgeoisie, place all their hopes on the peaceful development of affairs within the limits of the present Great Roumania, and consider the following premises as indispensable necessary for this: on the one hand a democratic regime, as well as freedom of coalition, and on the other hand the adoptions of measures against all "disturbers" of peace and "preachers" of revolution.

This is therefore the underlying meaning of the new law. They shall preserve the petty-bourgeoisie from every revolutionary influence and thus render the social revolution in Roumania altogether impossible, as it would be futile to commence a revolution without the sympathy and support of this class. In order to prevent the organisation, preparation and victory of the revolution, the oligarchy has decided to revert to "legality" and to give those parties who represent the petty bourgeoisie, the village bourgeoisie and the middle class the means to establish law and order in Roumania — that is, of course, the peace of the churchyard and the law of the barracks. For the exceptional laws shall, if possible, be carried through by a sham government of the liberals.

Nevertheless there exists a flaw in these calculations: the new laws are rudely shattering all the democratic illusions which still exist among the Roumanian proletariat. By rendering illegal its fighting advance guard, the Communist Party of Roumania, they weld it more firmly together and convert it into an enemy whose blows have all the more dangerous effect, as they will from now on strike the bourgeoisie when it is unprepared.

The clauses of the exceptional laws will afford no help. These clauses are as follows:

1. A penalty of five to ten years imprisonment, with a fine of 5000 to 10,000 Lei and deprivation of all liberty of movement will be imposed for: all communist propaganda by word or writing, any connection with foreign revolutionary organisations, every support of communist propaganda or communist agitation by allowing use of rooms, etc.

2. A penalty of six months to two years imprisonment, with a fine of 500 to 5,000 Lei and deprivation of all liberty of movement will be imposed for: wearing badges which proclaim certain convictions, the incitement to a breach of the peace by means of revolutionary songs, distribution and displaying of newspapers, pamphlets etc. etc.

This emergency legislation of the Roumanian ruling classes will, however, more firmly consolidate the ranks of the only revolutionary Party, the C. P. of Roumania, and will rather promote than hinder the bolshevism of this Party.

The Treachery of the Hungarian Social Democratic Leaders.

By Qu. (Budapest).

The Hungarian "reconstruction" brought with it a terrible economic crisis. The industrial proletariat and the poor peasants are starving, in the literal sense of the word. For the big landowners, bankers and capitalists, however, the restoration period means fat profits. In the last month, to take one instance, a very big concern, the "Graf Csakysh Praxfalver Undertaking", held its general meeting. During the last year this concern, which possesses an original capital of 200 millions, showed a net profit of 7 milliard crowns and put by 8 milliards to the reserve fund. Every reconstruction measure of the big agrarian-capitalist reaction, which at the present time is represented by the Bethlen government, increases the class antagonisms and is a fresh source of further impoverishment for the masses.

The "Federation of the Big Industrialists" recently declared that unless the "competitive capacity" of Hungary is restored, it would not sanction a penny increase in wages. The leaders of the trade unions and the central organ of the social democratic Party accepted this declaration with resignation, and declared that "as at present there is nothing to be done, they will reply to this challenge at a more favourable opportunity".

Unemployment is increasing every day. In Hungary there exists no unemployment insurance. Even in those factories where there is no lack of orders, short time is being systematically introduced. A few weeks ago it was asserted that Soviet Russia had placed orders for milliards worth of electric lamps, and in one day a thousand workers and employees were discharged from the Justian Electric Lamp Factory. Instead of applying the axe to the counterrevolutionary apparatus, workers are being discharged in thousands from the state enterprises. It has become the fashion to dismiss workers who have been employed for years in a factory and immediately to replace them with cheap female labour. There is not a single method for carrying out a systematic reduction of wages which has not been put into use in Hungary.

On the 1st of November, in accordance with the reconstruction law, house rents were increased by 50%. All reconstruction measures which are in any way directed against the rich are abolished. Prices are still increasing in spite of the stabilisation of the crown. In the last week or so the price of wheat has increased by 10%.

It is obvious that under such circumstances the working masses of Hungary, confronted with the prospect of a terrible winter, have become embittered. It is also clear that this feeling is not only directed against the Horthy government, but also against the leaders of the Social Democratic Party and parliamentary fraction, which does nothing to oppose these terrible measures. It is obvious that an opposition has appeared in the factories, in the trade unions, and in the local organisations, which is demanding energetic action. This organised opposition is attempting to expose the reasons why the leaders of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party, even surpassing the opportunism of their brother parties, do not even undertake a sham fight in the interests of the proletariat. For two years the opposition has spoken of a pact which the leaders of the Party have concluded with the Horthy government.

According to the statements of the opposition, this pact was concluded before Christmas 1921, and contains conditions which provide that the Hungarian social democracy renounces the international and the national class struggle, approves of the suppressive measures of the reaction against the land workers, railway workers, postal employees etc. by recognising the robbery of the right of combination on the part of the Horthy government against these sections of the workers, while the leaders of the Social Democratic Party also undertake to conceal the facts of the white terror from the public both at home and abroad.

Since the Party conference of the social democrats, which took place in April of this year, this pact has become the central point of attack by the opposition. The Party leaders attempted at first to deny the existence of the pact. They stigmatised all those who demanded the truth as slanderers and denounced them as bolsheviks. But it was of no use. Even the foreign social democratic papers spoke — in a veiled manner — of treachery when the social democratic parliamentary fraction put up no serious opposition in the debate over the reconstruction law. The English railway workers in 1923 questioned the Hungarian government why the railway workers in Hungary are not granted the right of combination. When the English Labour Government came into power the Hungarian government replied to the English trade unions that their charge was correct, but that these measures have been taken against the railway workers with the written consent of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party. As in recent times the opposition began visibly to increase and the Executive received one vote of censure after the other, the traitors, who realised that further denial was useless, decided to take up an "energetic defensive struggle".

The salaried officials of the Party and of the trade unions instigated a pogrom mood. It was asserted that everyone knew that the Party had signed the pact under compulsion and therefore the whole agitation against it was for the purpose of destroying the unity of the Party and of the trade unions and to promote bolshevism. Denunciations were carried on in a manner which can be regarded as unexampled even in the history of the Hungarian social democracy. It was in this situation that the Party leaders read out the shameful document, which not only confirmed all the charges of the opposition, but in addition exposed the exact details regarding this treachery. A resolution was submitted which threatened the opposition with immediate expulsion from the Party and the trade unions. At the same time this pogromous mood was used in order straight away to conclude another pact with the "bourgeois democratic-liberal" Parties. Day after day the central organ of the Party heaped abuse upon the opposition and overwhelmed it with threats and slanders, as if it were in no way a question of workers and comrades.

Some days ago a meeting was held of the enlarged executive. 10% of its members are elected representatives, while the remaining 90% consist of party and trade union officials. The meeting lasted from 4 o'clock in the afternoon till one the next morning.

The main question was the opposition. The deliberations started with the statement that the assertions of the opposition were in accordance with the facts. The pact actually exists and was signed on one side by Payer (the Hungarian Noske).

Farkas, the late Miakits, Propper and Vancak, and on the other side by Bethlen and was confirmed by the Central Executive.

After one of the chief accusations of the opposition was thus proved to be justified, the central executive launched its attacks against the opposition.

The proletariat of Budapest, however, gave its immediate reply. Three days after the sitting of the Central Committee, a great public meeting of the oppositional districts of Budapest took place. The opposition showed that it was determined on a real fight against reaction, and therefore held this meeting in the old parliament in order to fight itself if the central committee failed to do so. At least 3000 workers were gathered in the hall, while the crowd was so great that many workers could not gain admission. It was the most magnificent meeting the working class of Budapest had had for years. The police dispersed the meeting. But this occurred, however, after the most important questions had already been dealt with and a resolution adopted demanding the intensification of the struggle of the Party both inside and outside of parliament. One left the hall with the conviction that we would make even more rapid progress if the police dissolved a similar meeting every week... What was very noticeable was the conscious self-control of those present. The police officer threatened to break up the meeting if approval were expressed even by clapping. And nobody clapped. Even the agent provocateurs did not venture to clap. A stillness prevailed which even overawed the police. When, after the meeting was dispersed, the police officer called upon his men to arrest the speaker on the platform, his subordinates — comprising eight armed police — did not venture to touch this unarmed man, although hundreds of police were in readiness! The meeting was also very significant in view of the fact that the speakers, although they had been severely attacked, uttered no word with regard to the attacks, although they knew they would have found full support on the part of the audience.

This imposing meeting of the opposition was a fitting reply to the challenges and denunciations of the traitors. On the following day one noticed that the central organ of the Social Democratic Party showed nothing of the pogrom mood. But this means very little in the long run. The oppositional workers know that the leaders of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party are capable of anything, and incapable of everything! These workers, heedless of the slanders and denunciations, are sticking to their guns and will gain the victory over the most abominable traitors.

The Conveying of the Remains of Jaurès to the Pantheon.

By Marcel Cachin.

While the bourgeois Bloc of the Left, including the socialists, were conveying the mortal remains of Jean Jaurès to the Pantheon, the proletariat of Paris, summoned by the joint Committee of Action comprising the C. P. of France, the C. G. T. U., the Communist Youth and the proletarian ex-service men, held a great demonstration which was attended by a far greater number of people than those who participated in the official ceremony. More than 200,000 proletarians took part in this imposing demonstration.

Words entirely fail to express the greatness and the solemnity of this day of the proletariat.

All comrades will now understand why the bourgeoisie obstinately refuses the most elementary right to demonstrations in the streets. Democracy could not tolerate a repetition of an experience of this kind.

An enormous crowd, which spurned the hateful pomp of the government apparatus, followed the flags and the slogans of the revolutionary organisations. Everybody could make an impartial comparison, and estimate the size of the two processions and the extent and the power of the sympathy of the proletariat of Paris.

Behind the official ceremony there were the members and leaders of a Party which is in a dying condition: the soul of the workers has deserted this empty shell. In our ranks there is life and zest, the burning and living flame, the whole courageous heart of the great revolutionary city. It has preserved unshaken the memory of the man who lived for it and nobly died for it.

The government of radicals, supported by the socialists, wished to carry out at the tomb of Jaurès a suspicious political stunt. Against these mean attempts to extract political capital from a memory which is solely the heritage of the workers, the proletariat of Paris have expressed their feelings in a most energetic manner. In their opinion the only Pantheon which Jaurès would have wished is the heart of the workers themselves, whom he served to the highest point of self-sacrifice.

And then it must be said to all the shameful phrase-mongers of democracy and of socialism who spend their whole lives in abusing the Russian revolution: the crowd at this demonstration have blended the full warmth of their affection for the slaughtered Jaurès and the Soviet Republic, which now more than ever constitutes for them the pattern and model and the end for which they themselves are striving.

What a remarkable testimony to the instinct and ideas of the suffering proletarians who are yearning for deeds and ideals! They know that without doubt there exist considerable differences between the ideology of Jaurès and that of bolshevism. But they also know that Jaurès had such a magnanimous heart and such receptive mind that had he lived he would have devoted himself to the great movement of humanity at the head of which stands Russia.

The day of the demonstration was indeed an out and out revolutionary day. It represented a strong condemnation of the discredited and compromised false socialism which has lost the confidence of the best elements of the proletariat. It was a day of triumph for communism, which was joyfully acclaimed for many hours by hundred of thousands of people who have testified their confidence and their sympathy in the most touching manner.

It is the urgent duty of our Party to show itself worthy of the task to which it will be called in the near future.

ECONOMICS

Economics and Economic Policy in the Third Quarter of 1924.

By Eugen Varga.

IV.

Special Section.

Germany.

The Economic Situation.

The improvement expected from the political calm, which it was supposed would follow the acceptance of the Dawes plan, has not taken place during the period covered by this report. Up to the end of August the economic situation had decidedly changed in general for the worse; in September a certain improvement was observable. This was, however, very slight, and referred rather to the situation of the capitalists than to production itself. The period of this report has seen an alleviation of the strangulating lack of credit, of rates of interest up to 100%. But shortage of working capital still continues to weigh heavily upon German economics. The international loan of the Dawes plan costs Germany over 8% interest, private foreign credits over 10%, and inland credits as a rule over 20%.

The Situation in the Labour Market.

The unfavourable economic situation corresponds to the state of the labour market. The percentages of unemployed in the trade unions have developed as follows:

	Unemployed	Part timers
May	8.8	8.2
June	10.5	19.4
July	12.5	28.2
August	12.4	27.5

The trade union statistics for August refer to 3,380,615 members, of whom 419,440 were out of work. As the total number of workers in Germany is at least four times this, the calculation given in our introduction, showing that Germany has at least 1,200,000 unemployed, or possibly 1,800,000 if the agricultural labourers are included, corresponds in all probability with the truth.

The number of unemployed in receipt of out-of-work benefit has been as follows:

Beginning of August	567,000
End of August	588,000
Middle of September	577,000
End of September	517,000

Apart from the extensive unemployment, the situation of the working class is rendered daily more unbearable by the constant increase in prices, with which the rises in wages do not keep pace. The index figures as to cost of living, for the Reich (1913/14 = 1), are as follows:

July	1.16
August	1.14
3. September	1.15
10. September	1.16
24. September	1.17
1. October	1.19

According to these figures, the cost of living had increased by 2.6% during the time covered by this report. This calculation has, however, encountered much justifiable doubt, for food prices, especially in September, have obviously risen to a much greater extent than stated in these index figures.

Data of production continue to be published in the most meagre manner possible. This makes it difficult to state anything positive with regard to the prosperity of any individual branch of industry. It is solely with respect to coal production that data have recently been issued. Thus, for instance, the coal production of the Ruhr district — we need not here repeat the data referring to coal production in the smaller coal areas — for the month of August was as follows:

Utilisable coal output		
	Total tons	Per working day tons
1924	8,339,446	320,748
1922	8,043,770	297,917
1913	9,505,343	365,590
1924 compared with 1922	+ 3.68%	+ 7.66%
1924 compared with 1913	- 12.27%	- 12.27%

Total number employed:	
1924	450,899
1922	524,671
1913	395,982
1924 compared with 1922	- 14.06%
1924 compared with 1913	+ 13.87%

Despite a decrease of 14% in the number of workers employed, the data show a 4% increase of production as compared with the year 1922, and of almost 8% increase of production per working day; on the other hand production is still 12% less than before the war, although the number of workers employed has increased by 14%.

But since wages are still actually less than before the war, it has been possible to lower prices to such an extent that Ruhr coal can now be offered, even in the seaports of Hamburg and Bremen, at the same price as English coal, or even somewhat cheaper. ("Frankfurter Zeitung", 5. October 1924).

Despite this fact, many pits are being closed down in the Ruhr area, on the pretext that they are worked at a loss under the present price conditions.

The Harvest.

Germany's poor crops this year are a factor exercising great influence upon Germany's economic situation. The grain crop is much less than last year, and less still than the pre-war yield. We append the official estimates issued at the end of August:

Species of grain	1924	1923	1913	1911/13 ¹⁾
100 double cwt.				
Wheat	25,370	28,971	40,431	37,676
Winter spelt	1,470	1,598	4,378	4,154
Rye	59,980	66,815	101,318	95,860
Winter barley	2,018	2,343	—	—
Summer barley	21,911	21,269	30,402	28,720
Oats	61,345	61,069	86,186	76,818

¹⁾ Present extent of area.

It must, however, be observed that as a result of the unfavourable weather in August and September, the actual yield of the crops is even worse than this. The quality of the German bread grain has suffered especially from damp, germination, etc., and has been so spoilt that it can only be made into eatable bread by the admixture of superior foreign grain.

This failure of the crops, in combination with the removal of the export prohibition, the attempt to reintroduce corn duties, and the rise in grain prices on the world's markets, has led to a jump in corn prices.

Foreign Trade.

The tendency towards the equilibration of prices for inland and foreign goods is naturally bound to hamper German exports. The collective data of German foreign trade show the following developments:

Million gold marks (pre-war value):				
	June	July	Aug.	Jan./Aug.
Import	551	442	358	4,145
Export	363	441	454	3,163
Import surplus	188	1	- 96	982

Million gold marks (present value):				
	June	July	Aug.	Jan./Aug.
Imports	753	565	448	5,468
Exports	475	573	589	3,990
Import surplus	278	- 8	- 141	1,496

We thus observe, present values being calculated, an adverse trade balance amounting to almost 1½ milliard gold marks during the first eight months. In the months of July and August an export surplus set in. This is, however, as much a result of the falling off of imports as of the increase of exports. When we remember that large quantities of grain have been, or will be, imported into Germany in the months following September, then the foreign trade statistics offer us no basis for the possibility of actually attaining the export surplus required by the reparation payments.

The foreign trade of the 23 most important countries, (1913 being taken as 100) has been as follows:

	1913	1920	1921	1922	1923
	100	183	75	79	84

We thus see that the world's trade, despite the increase of population which has meanwhile taken place, is 10% behind the figures for 1913. Germany's share in the world's trade, calculated on the same basis, is shown by the foreign statistics for this period to have been:

	1913	1920	1921	1922	1923
	100	31	42	45	42

and according to German foreign trade statistics:

	1913	1920	1921	1922	1923
	100	36	33	59	49

These figures show us plainly that German foreign trade would have to increase to a perfectly enormous extent, especially export trade, if the transfer is to be made actually possible.

Here another question arises, one deserving serious attention, and already touched upon by the Minister for Trade, Raumer. This is the question: Is Germany capable of producing such a quantity of goods for export? The Minister pointed out that before the war Germany exported goods to the value of 10 milliard marks, with a ten hour day. At that time the foreign trade balance was extremely adverse. Since this time Germany has lost territory, rendering it impossible for it to export raw materials, for instance coal, to the same extent as before the war. On the other hand Germany is obliged to import certain raw materials, for instance iron ores, in large quantities. It would thus appear that even if the German workers were to work 12 hours a day, it would still be a technical impossibility to produce the amount of industrial goods which would be required to cover the increased import of raw materials and attain a net export surplus of 2½ milliard marks. It would appear that the execution of the Dawes Plan may also be shipwrecked on the question of Germany's productive capacity.

Accumulation or Impoverishment in Germany.

This question brings us back to a problem which we have frequently dealt with in previous reports: Have German economics, taken as a whole, yielded surpluses since the war, or has Germany been working at a loss. This is not a question of whether the capitalist strata have enriched themselves or not during this time. But there has been no accumulation in the real sense of the word, no accumulation of surplus values produced in the factories and undertakings of the capitalists themselves, but merely their expropriation of the property of other strata of society. During the inflation period it was the small savers, the pensioners, officials, and workers, who were robbed of their last possessions. And now the process is continuing. At the present time it is chiefly the small holders and medium farmers who are being robbed by heavy taxation; and on the other hand advantage is being taken of the reduction of joint stock company balances to gold marks, and of the attendant shrinking of joint stock capital, to deprive small share-holders of their money in favour of the large share-holders.

The question as to whether there has been any real accumulation among the capitalists is important for the question has to be raised: Is Germany perhaps really able, thanks to the improvement of its technical apparatus of production, especially in the machine equipment of its industrial undertakings, to produce more than it did before the war, and at lower prices than its competitors?

We have various data at our disposal showing that Germany's productive apparatus has actually improved and extended, but although we must not underestimate these facts, we are still of the opinion that the improvement is by no means adequate for the purpose of enabling Germany to send abroad the quantity of goods required for the carrying out of the transfer, even were the impossible to happen, and the world's markets prove capable of absorbing this mass of goods.

Poland.

The severe crisis in Polish economics has continued during the whole of the period of this report, and it is only since the first weeks of October that we have received slightly better reports, at least from the East Upper Silesian heavy industrial area.

The ultimate cause of this crisis has been the frightful impoverishment of the country since the war. In the "Manchester Guardian Commercial" of 31. August we find an exceedingly interesting extract from the report issued by the association of Polish banks. The phenomena rendered so familiar to us by Germany's inflation period are repeating themselves here.

The total capital of the 27 largest banks of Poland amounted to:

	Milliards paper marks	Millions zloty
End of January 1923	13.7	2.18
" " March	17.8	2.12
" " June	20.3	1.40
" " September	38.2	0.62
" " December	239.0	0.20

The gold capital of the banks has sunk to a tenth in the course of this year. At the commencement of the stabilisation the total capital of the 27 largest banks did not amount to more than 200,000 gold francs, and although these figures are inaccurate is so far that the buildings and fittings alone are worth more than this, still they give an idea of the effect of the inflation. Another example: The deposits with these banks rose from 26 milliard marks at the beginning of 1923 to 527 milliard marks in December, but their value, expressed in gold, fell from 4 million zloty to 440,000.

This depreciation of capital explains the enormous rates of interest which have obtained since the beginning of the stabilisation. The government has issued a formal law prohibiting rates of interest exceeding 24% annually, but this law is certainly not observed.

The poverty of the country is further mirrored in the data referring to the budget and circulation of money. As we stated in our last report, the expenditure of the Polish state amounted this year to about 1½ milliard gold francs. A very low sum for a country supporting 33 million inhabitants; less than half the sum per head in Germany. The money in circulation has increased somewhat, but by the 31. August it was still only

430 million zloty, that is, about 14 francs per head of the population, an incredibly small sum.

This crisis has continued during the whole of the period covered by this report. The number of unemployed was officially stated to be 170,000 in September, but it is probably much greater.

The currency has maintained its stability during the period of this report. Foreign trade data have only been published for the first months of the year, so that no conclusions can be drawn from these. With respect to the revenues derived from taxation, the official returns place these in a very favourable light.

Apart from the severe crisis in the coal and iron industry, it is chiefly the failure of the crops which will exercise a very unfavourable influence upon Poland's economic situation in the coming economic year. The crops of the most important varieties of grain are as follows:

	In million double cwt.		
	1922 (excluding Silesia)	1923	1924
Wheat	11.5	13.5	11.7
Rye	50.1	59.6	45.4
Barley	13.0	16.6	14.3
Oats	25.1	35.2	30.9
	99.7	124.9	102.3

A statement made by the Prime Minister shows this year's crops to be 30% less than last year's. For this reason imports of grain to Poland are admitted free of duty and the levy on the export of grain about doubled.

In consequence of the failure of the crops and the crisis in heavy industry, it is probable that the Polish foreign trade balance will again become unfavourable in a high degree, and that the bad crops will prevent the raising of the expected revenue from taxation. Risings among the peasantry are already being reported from various parts of Poland, and opposition is being made against the state organs commissioned to collect the taxes.

Like Germany and France, Poland is about to be controlled by foreign capital. In our last report we already made mention of the participation of the Italian Commercial Bank in the Polish tobacco monopoly. Since then English capitalists have succeeded in obtaining an extensive forest concession in Poland, and the Lodz textile industry has received a credit of 3½ million dollars from America, but on very hard terms. In order to facilitate the efforts of enterprises endeavouring to obtain foreign credits, the Prime Minister has issued an enactment permitting a state guarantee to be given for foreign credits up to the value of 500 million zloty. This enactment facilitates the obtaining of credits, but on the other hand it naturally opens the door to political corruption.

Hungary.

The economic situation in the smaller countries of Europe does not differ essentially from that of the large countries. The situation is somewhat better in the Scandinavian countries, and somewhat worse in those bordering on Germany; Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Switzerland. Loud complaints are heard everywhere as to the fresh competition from Germany. Almost every country is suffering from poor crops.

We must devote a few words to Hungary in particular. Some time ago the Hungarian press published a report issued on Hungary by the League of Nations Controller, Smith, in the month of August. To all appearances the exact wording of the report was published. But on October 19. the "Vossische Zeitung" published an article by their Budapest correspondent, Bruno Heilig, containing exceedingly interesting things about Hungary, taken from Smith's report, but not published by any Hungarian newspaper. He gives the following data on Working wages:

"Before the war there were in round numbers 35,000 railwaymen in the present Hungary, today the number is 38,000. In the year 1913 these 35,000 railwaymen earned over 44 million gold crowns; the present railwaymen earn only 16 million gold crowns. In the machine industry the number of workers has diminished from 44,000 to 40,000, whilst the decrease in the earnings of the workers is from 91 millions to 24 millions.

Before the war the textile industry produced goods to the value of 82 million gold crowns; today the value of textile productions is 116 gold crowns but the amount earned by the textile workers has sunk from 16 millions to 6½ million gold crowns!"

These data signify — if we take the depreciation of gold into consideration — that the real wages of the workers amount to about 25% of prewar wages. This is the result of the White regime, and the Social Democratic Party and social democratic trade unions, which are unusually powerful in Poland.

France.

— Here the relative economic prosperity was maintained during the period of this report. At the present time there is no great number of unemployed in France. We nevertheless only speak of relative economic prosperity, as although good business is being done, the productive capacity of the country, in the most important branches of industry, is by no means being fully utilised. Thus, for instance, the "Journée Industr." of 20. September writes that the productive capacity of the metal industry is only being utilised to the extent of 60%. But in spite of this it may be stated that business prosperity is greater in France at the present time than in any other European country, thanks to the restoration work.

Still we do not quite share the optimistic hopes for the future expressed by the commercial adviser at the English embassy in Paris, Cahill¹⁾. He reports that the restoration of the industrial works has now been completed: French coke production has risen from 3 million tons before the war to 5 million tons; the industrial production apparatus has much improved, materially and technically, in comparison with pre-war time. Reconstruction on a large scale has taken place in the whole textile industry, in the coal and iron mines, the foundries and machine factories and the glass and chemical factories in the devastated areas. During the war new factories were erected in Lyons, Grenoble, Bordeaux, Rhône, and other districts. A considerable part of the war profits has been employed in extending these works. Thus the French manufacturing industry has been newly equipped and modernised.²⁾

Many of the great mining concerns have strengthened their position by affiliation with undertakings in Holland, Poland, Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Roumania. The electrification of the railways, the enlargements of the harbours and of the Marseilles—Rhône canal, have made great progress...

Nevertheless, many of the figures contained in this highly interesting report furnish food for thought. Thus for instance the following table.³⁾

The percentage of production in 1923, as compared with 1913 (according to the data issued by the Comité des Forges, "Information", 10. August⁴⁾), was as follows:

Great Britain	111	73
Belgium	93	88
Luxemburg	90	55
United States	138	129
France	74	60

We see that despite the addition of Alsace Lorraine, France's production is far behind that of other countries.

The Franco-German trade agreement negotiations passed off with such conspicuous smoothness that we may safely assume that previous agreements were already made between the French and German heavy industries, apart from the official negotiations.

But even should this be the case, still the limited powers of absorption of the world's markets render it impossible for French heavy industry to utilise more than a part of its productive capacity, even in the future. It is precisely this circumstance, the limitation of the world's markets, which will throw serious obstacles in the way of the future development of French economics, which are so optimistically estimated by Cahill.

We must refer briefly to the situation in the textile industry. Up to the present this has enjoyed the advantage of duty-free export to Germany; formally, it is only the productions of the Alsace textile industry which enjoy this privilege, but as a matter of fact the products of French textile industry share it.

¹⁾ Report on the economic conditions in France. Revised to June 1924.

²⁾ Page 1 to 2.

³⁾ Page 65.

⁴⁾ These data do not agree with those published, for instance, by the "Economist"; according to the latter: (Monthly Bulletin, September, 1924), the production of 1923 was higher than that of 1913.

The export to Germany, expressed in 1000 q (Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, 8. October), amounted in the first 7 months to:

	1922	1923	1924
Cotton yarn	51	11.7	57.2
Wool yarn	18	5.6	19.4
Cotton fabric	80.6	14.6	129.2
Wool fabric	19	11	27.6
Silk fabric 1000 kgs	114.5	33.5	243.3

These figures again reflect the influence of the depreciation of the franc in the spring of 1924. At the present time the situation in the textile industry appears to have worsened. Thus the "Daily Herald" of 12. September reports that the factories in Tourcoing and Roubaux, which were working with three shifts a year ago, are now working only one shift, and only four days a week.

The Poor Crops.

Official data regarding the crops have not yet been published. The private estimates differ greatly. The most favourable estimate for wheat and rye gives the same figures as for last year, but this estimate comes from the millers ("Bulletin des Halles"), who are strongly opposed to an official stipulation of grain and flour prices, and to the compulsory grinding of the grain up to 78%. The fact that such measures are being resorted to proves how serious the situation is. Another proof is the fact that bread is dearer than it has been for years. It is calculated that it will be necessary to import 28 million double hundredweights. Here it must be recollected that the North African colonies, which have otherwise covered a not inconsiderable part of France's import requirements, report a failure of crops this year, and will themselves be obliged to import. France will thus have to pay for her grain imports in foreign currencies, and this will influence her payment balance very unfavourably. At the present prices the amount coming in question for wheat alone is approximately 3 milliard francs. Anxiety — and of course at the same time hope — is being felt that the franc will not be able to maintain its present rate of exchange. "Le Temps" consoles itself with the thought that it will be possible greatly to diminish the import of sugar by the increase of home production, and that foreign trade is developing advantageously.

State Finances.

Cahill's report gives an interesting compilation as to France's financial situation since the beginning of the war.

Year	Revenues	Expenditure
	in million francs	
1913	5,091	5,072
1914	4,548	10,371
1915	4,113	21,400
1916	4,640	36,848
1917	5,811	44,661
1918	6,986	56,649
1919	10,176	54,253
1920	18,176	58,163
1921	21,217	52,023
1922	21,383	48,200
1923	24,155	38,682
Total	126,296	426,342

The statements for 1923 are not yet the final ones. But the table suffices to show clearly that in the years 1913 to 1923 the deficit has amounted to 300 milliard francs.

If we further take into consideration the military debts, — of which those owing to America will have to be consolidated and paid interest on in some form or another (we have dealt with this in the general section) —, and if we remember that it is not possible to calculate on a full payment of the reparations as provided by the agreement; then it is clear that the next budget will again show a deficit of some milliards, and it is easy to foresee considerable financial difficulties...

For some years past we have stated it as our opinion that the small and stagnant population of France, her poorly developed agriculture and heavy financial burdens, are incapable of bearing the mighty superstructure of political power for any length of time. The London Agreement really signifies the renunciation of the great imperialist line: the dismemberment of Germany and the establishment of French dominance on the continent of Europe.

IN THE COLONIES

The Egyptian Chamber against the Brutal Imperialism of England.

The following is the text of the telegram which the Egyptian Chamber addressed to the League of Nations:

"Mr. President!

I have the honour to bring to your notice the following protest which the Egyptian Chamber at its session of 24th November unanimously decided to address to the League of Nations and to all parliaments of the world. In view of the attack recently undertaken by the British government upon the rights, the sovereignty and the constitution of the Egyptian people, the Egyptian Chamber declares: first, that it stands for the complete independence of Egypt and of the Sudan, which form one and indivisible country. Secondly, the Egyptian chamber expresses its keenest regret that although the nation, its sovereign, the government and the parliament have condemned in the clearest manner the abominable crime against the Sirdar of the Egyptian Army and the governor general of the Sudan, Sir Lee Stack, and although the government has given satisfaction and adopted effective measures in order to punish the guilty, the British government still deemed it necessary to make use of this deplorable incident for its imperialist ends, and with brute force to take revenge on an innocent nation, which can only rely upon the power of its right and the justice of its cause. The British government has not only put forward exorbitant demands which are out of all proportion to the crime and exceed all reason, it has even gone so far as to demand the withdrawal of the Egyptian troops from the Sudan, to compel the Sudanese troops to render their oath of allegiance to the governor general of Sudan, to sanction the extension of the area under cultivation by the British colonial companies in the Sudan and to increase the present 300,000 feddans to an unlimited extent. Further, it has intimated to the Egyptian government that it must abandon all resistance to the wishes expressed by the British government in regard to the protection of foreign interests in Egypt, and in addition to this has submitted still further demands which are specified in the English notes.

The British government has followed up its words by deeds and, among other things, has taken possession of the Customs Office of Alexandria, declaring that this is only the first of the measures it means to adopt. These actions are in absolute contradiction to the rights of Egypt. They constitute an attack upon its independence and an interference in its affairs. They mean a violation of the Egyptian constitution and a threat against its agricultural and economic life. They bear not the least connection with the crime and are unexampled in history.

For these reasons the Egyptian Chamber submits to the whole world the most emphatic protest against such action, which is quite unwarranted and in no way justified. It calls upon all civilised peoples to bear witness to these exorbitant imperialist demands, which cannot be reconciled with the spirit of the century and the sacred rights of the nation. It protests to all parliaments of the world against this arbitrariness and applies to the League of Nations with the request for intervention on behalf of an innocent nation, which is holding firmly to its sacred and immemorial rights to life and liberty, and makes no other claim except to its independence.

(Signed) The President:
Achmed Maziul."

The Sharpening of the Anglo-French Antagonism in the Near East.

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

The community of interests — as to which the English and French Government were, for the period of the war, agreed, as regards the questions of the Near East, with a view to destroying the influence of their German rivals and giving Turkey a death blow — has, in the course of the years which have elapsed since the armistice, been replaced by an embittered

rivalry, which in many respects amounts to a deadly enmity. The mere fact that the campaign in the Near East was carried through by British troops, gave the English a great advantage which they have turned to thoroughly good account. Whilst, elated with victory, they were still swearing eternal friendship at Versailles and working out new schemes of conquest in common (especially the campaign against Soviet Russia), the English, unnoticed in the flush of victory, were making the attempt to swallow Syria whole. Even a pseudo-independence of the Arabs was preferred to the inconvenient French, and King Feisul fought with English money against French soldiers.

The French, however, had no intention of letting their war booty simply slip through their fingers. The French army was reinforced and quickly cleared off the Arab nationalists; it then occupied the districts which had been allotted to France by the secret treaties concluded during the war. At the same time it struck a blow at England by returning to the Turks the northern part of the districts occupied by the French, Cilicia. And moreover Mustapha Kemal was enabled with the support of French money to fight and conquer the Greeks who were backed by English money.

It was then the turn of the English capitalists to make an outcry about French treachery. France, however, had re-established her position in the Near East, for some time at any rate. The equilibrium was ensured.

Nevertheless, since then the Anglo-French antagonism has again increased. There are certain fundamental problems which must inevitably lead again and again to conflicts, if not actually to serious collisions:

1. The French interests in the Mediterranean will be seriously endangered if England succeeds in acquiring another naval station on the east coast of the Mediterranean in addition to Malta and the Egyptian harbours. The naval programme of the Labour Government included in the first place an increase of the British naval power in the Mediterranean. France is therefore justified in regarding the fact of the English rule in Palestine as a direct danger to herself. It is not without good reason that the representatives of the Right in the French Parliament repeatedly emphasize that France cannot waive her claim to the southern part of Syria (in diplomatic language: "the protection of the interests of Christians in the Holy Land").

2. The English are constantly being hindered by the French wedge in Syria in carrying out their policy as regards the Arabs without friction. An Arab federation without Damascus, the capital of Syria, is inconceivable. The creation of an Arab federation under English protection is the plan which England has persistently pursued since the war, as it is the only one which reconciles the Arab struggle for independence with a guarantee of English interests in the Arabian peninsula, and opposes a great, apparently, independent Arab power to the Turkish influence, as finally, it would more firmly bind the many millions of Moslems in India to the British rule. As long as France sits tight in Syria, the English policy in Arabia will always be seriously interfered with. In France, however, the Bloc National and the Left Bloc unanimously maintain: "We shall remain in Syria."

3. The French are by no means inclined to recognise and support the English claim to Mosul. The French capitalists are just as greedy for naphta as the English, and are not satisfied with the percentage which the Treaty of Lausanne guaranteed them. During the war, Mosul was included in the French zone, and it was with a heavy heart that Clemenceau made up his mind in 1919 to exchange his claims to the Mosul district for other concessions. From the political point of view England is distinctly in France's way in the Mosul district. This territory, which stretches well into the Turkish domain, is strategically a constant menace on the flank of the French mandatory district. This accounts for the French tendency to favour the Turkish claims to Mosul rather than the English.

4. Besides the political clash of interests, there are important economic ones. Not only in the areas under English protection, but also in those under French protection English imports head the list; they are at any rate higher than the French. By way of illustration we give the following figures for French Syria, where of course France is strongest:

Value of imports into Syria, in French francs:	1920	1921	1923
France	95,441,000	94,814,000	81,135,000
England	250,789,000	131,734,000	120,603,459

In this connection it should be noted that the English colonies are not included, and that the imports, especially from Egypt, are fairly high. The French do everything in their power to supplant English goods with French ones. The English on their part are dependent on the Oriental market and refuse to allow themselves to be ousted. The customs-frontiers between the comparatively limited French mandatory districts and the extensive hinterland (Mesopotamia, Transjordan), held by the English, which largely divert the transit trade, that previously passed mainly through the Syrian ports, to the English ones on the coast of Palestine, are a further advantage to the English.

The Anglo-French competition is also increasing in other fields. France which, as well as Germany, energetically promoted the construction of railways in the former Turkish territory before the war, possesses to-day nothing but the few short lines in Syria, whereas England, after investing several million pounds which were debited to the population of the lands in question, has created for her own benefit an extensive railway system in Palestine and Mesopotamia.

5. We must add to these a whole series of points of friction which, in view of the strained Anglo-French relations, may become very important: the French language which once held absolute sway in the Near East, is gradually being driven from the field by the English. On the other hand the religious missions, which are chiefly of French nationality, offer a constant focus of discontent and fermentation in the English districts, especially again in Palestine where the Zionistic policy of the English Government forms an easy object of attack. While French papers in Syria have for a long time published every other day furious instigatory articles against England and especially against English policy in the East, in order to prove that France, and France alone can be the friend and protector of the Oriental peoples, England takes her revenge by offering shelter to banished and condemned Syrian politicians and "allowing parties to form themselves" which aim at a union of Syria and Palestine, of course under an English mandate or protectorate.

Some months ago there were reports of frequently repeated predatory attacks on the French territory, which, carried out by organised bands, endangered public peace often far into the interior of the country. The robber bands always found protection and safety beyond the Syrian frontier on English territory. Later on it was proved that the hordes were under orders from Rikabi Pasha who had been made governor of Transjordan by England; he had been driven out of Damascus by the French authorities and received and overwhelmed with honours by the English. The French Chief Commissioner protested and the attacks ceased, without the guilty persons being punished. The French pay back in the same coin by granting refuge to Transjordanian robbers. Each Government, while endeavouring to ensure peace and order in its own district, takes care that its neighbour does not get the chance of governing any too peacefully.

HANDS OFF CHINA

The Recent Events in China and the Immediate Outlook.

By Mussin (Moscow).

The chief result of the recent upheaval in Peking is the collapse of the military democratic Dshili group. This group, like other military-democratic groups in China, was never at any time a united whole. In the course of the last year it was constantly torn by inner dissensions, which frequently assumed a very acute character. It broke up into a number of smaller groups, which constantly quarrelled with each other, and in which were blended the personal interests and the group interests of various sections of the ruling classes of China.

General Wu-Pei-Fu, who had his chief support in the provinces of Chubai, Cheman and Chunan, personifies the trend of development of the most advanced portion of the Chinese industrial bourgeoisie in the district of the Yang-Tsi valley. This portion of the Chinese national bourgeoisie has become considerably strengthened during the last years and has recently shown the tendency to unite the whole country under its rule. On the other hand the economic basis of the northern provinces, with which the majority of the Dshili clique are connected, is extremely backward and the slogan of Wu-Pei-Fu: "unity of the

country by armed force" means in reality, not only the subordination of the whole country under the rule of the Dshili-group, but the subordination of this whole group under Wu-Pei-Fu.

During the last eighteen months or so there took place the consolidation of the Dshili group which was less a result of causes to be found in China itself, but rather a result of the pressure exercised from without by Anglo-American capital. In order to combat Japanese influence and to oust Japan from her position in China, American capital required a firm and strong fist, which it believed it would find in the consolidated power of the Dshili group. The growing power of Wu-Pei-Fu, in the capacity of a possible future ruler of the Chinese national bourgeoisie in their fight against foreign capital, also constituted a danger for American capital, and the constant effort of Wu-Pei-Fu, against the will of his foreign protectors, to recognise the Soviet Union rendered this danger more apparent than ever.

If, however, interior causes provided the pre-conditions for the removal of Wu-Pei-Fu, this can in no way mean that his overthrow was able to be brought about without the intervention of foreign capital and its agents. The role played by Japanese imperialism in the whole affair is clear and indisputable. The collapse of the Dshili group implies a weakening of the offensive of Anglo-American capital, in whose hands this clique was an instrument against Japanese influence. And Japanese imperialism naturally had a profound interest in expediting and completing this overthrow. It was not without reason that the Japanese press welcomed the successful overthrow with such joy. According to telegrams from Tokio, the Japanese newspapers commented upon the new situation in China as follows: "With the altered situation in China there is removed every danger of any possible injury to Japanese rights". And Japan, of course, has every cause for satisfaction. The newly formed provisional Cabinet in Peking is one which is decidedly friendly to Japan. The Cabinet includes followers of Tsang-Tso-Lin with the help of whom the latter will endeavour to influence the Peking government.

But it would be quite a mistake to assume that the present victory of Japanese influence in China is a final one. Anglo-American imperialism will not abandon its positions and its efforts for complete domination in China without an obstinate struggle. In this respect the declaration of Feng-Yu-Sian is extremely characteristic, for he hastened to assure public opinion, and in the first place the public of the American mission in China, "that he has not made any agreement with Tsang-Tso-Lin and has acted quite independently in fulfilling his duty".

How profound are the divisions within the military-democratic Dshili group and how far they reach it, is at present difficult to say. It must be assumed that America is still endeavouring to limit and localise the insurrection and to preserve her chief tool in the Dshili group by replacing generals Wu-Pei-Fu and Tschao-Kun by the new victorious general Feng-Yu-Sian, with whom, up to now at least, she has had little cause to quarrel. This "Christian" general, who is not only closely connected with the American missionaries but also with the Anglo-American bankers and diplomats, is, for America, best suited to replace General Wu-Pei-Fu. Anglo-American capital can very easily change saddles and its new horse will serve it no worse than the old. A situation of this sort would bring about a new armed truce between the chief robbers in the Far East and postpone the solution of the conflict for some time.

But this "peaceful" solution of the conflict requires a certain understanding between America and Japan, and it is at present somewhat difficult to arrive at this agreement. Up to the last moment America had continually supported Wu-Pei-Fu, even after the arrival of Feng-Yu-Sian. With the aid of American ships Wu-Pei-Fu succeeded in transporting a portion of his troops from the Northern front to Tientsin, that means, to attack Peking in the rear and continue his fight against the troops of Feng-Yu-Sian. The latest telegrams contain reports of his complete defeat, both at Shanghai-Kvon (against Tsang-Tso-Lin) and at Tientsin (against Feng-Yu-Sian). Simultaneously with the defeat of Wu-Pei-Fu, telegrams reported the final abdication of Tsao-Kun from the government of Peking. In this way the struggle within the Dshili group is widening and deepening, in spite of all the efforts of America.

It is not to be assumed therefore, in spite of the present strengthening of Japanese influence in the North of China, that we shall not before long witness a new armed struggle between Feng-Yu-Sian and Tsang-Tso-Lin. Anglo-American capital can

hardly be content with the occupation of Peking by Tsang-Tso-Lin and the domination of Japanese influence in the Peking Government. A turn in affairs as above indicated is all the more probable in that the plans of Feng-Yu-Sian do not provide for the handing over of power to Tsang-Tso-Lin, for the former could himself prove strong enough (especially with the help of America) to take power into his own hands in Peking.

Feng-Yu-Sian's final break with American capital and his alliance with Tsang-Tso-Lin will in all probability lead to a further increase of civil war in Northern China, as well as in Central China. The main points of support of Wu-Pei-Fu on the river Yang-Tsi in the provinces of Chubai and Chunan have not yet been destroyed. A new front with a rich industrial basis could be formed here. This new civil war would provide a splendid pretext for an armed intervention on the part of the great Powers in order to seize possession of and divide up the whole of China.

But the antagonist interests of the imperialists in China are so great, and their relations are strained to such an extent, that a struggle over the division of this country could easily lead to an immediate world war. Such an armed collision would, in the present general world situation, be exceedingly risky for all imperialists, but it is nevertheless not an impossibility. As the telegrams from Tokio have reported, Japan is continually sending fresh re-inforcements to China, where there are already five Japanese destroyers in Shanghai and six destroyers in Tsientsin and Dsin-Wan-Dao (a port in Northern China on the frontier of the province of Dshili and Manchuria). On the other hand Colonel Gerard, the commander of the French troops in Peking, has made a hasty journey to Japan on a "special mission". There is no doubt that the English and American naval forces are likewise concentrated in Chinese harbours in order, at the "right" moment, to take "all necessary measures for the defence of their interests".

But the collapse of the Northern Dshili group weakens the power of the black reaction which during the last two to two and a half years has prevailed in Northern and Central China. It also promotes the development of the inner revolutionary forces of the national struggle for emancipation and serves as a powerful means for stimulating both the anti-imperialist and the labour movement of the country. This can lead to a new insurrection in China which could be a big surprise for all imperialists and their agents.

FOR THE UNITY OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

Hull — Moscow.

By D. Manuilsky.

Moscow, 17th November.

By the time these lines reach the reader abroad, telegraphic reports will already have arrived of the chief decisions and the debates of the 6th Trade Union Congress of the Soviet Union. Therefore it will not be the purpose of this article to acquaint the European Comrades with the details of the Russian Trade Union Congress — which they can obtain from the full reports in the "Inprekorr". In this article I will deal with the most important and fundamental things which the Congress has to offer the international labour movement; for the importance of this Congress extends far beyond the bounds of one country.

Regarded from an interior standpoint, the central point upon which all the debates at the Congress have turned is the question of increasing the productivity of labour. Under the conditions of the proletarian dictatorship and of the victorious workers' revolution this question constitutes the problem of the victory of the elements of the organised socialist economy, over the elementary forces of capitalist economy. The seven years existence of the Soviet Government in Russia, under the conditions of international isolation, of intervention, blockade and civil war, were the most difficult years, as our economic restoration and socialist reconstruction proceeded at an exceedingly slow rate and with constant interruptions. International social democracy took advantage of all the difficulties which stood in the way of the first proletarian government, in order to discredit the Russian October Revolution in the eyes of the working masses of Europe

and to frighten them with the spectre of economic "Chaos", which they alleged would be the consequence of the victory of the proletariat on an international scale.

This most base and detestable propaganda against socialism which was coming into the world accompanied with birth pangs, constituted the main function of social democracy after the war. If in the European labour movement there still exist backward sections of the working class, who place their hopes upon a painless solution of the social contradictions of capitalism and trot behind the social democratic leaders, the feeling among these workers is due to no small extent to those enormous difficulties which the Soviet State had to overcome in the last few years.

The working class of Russia is, in some respect undergoing a test regarding the question, which economic system is the better: the capitalist system of the West European bourgeoisie and of the social democracy which supports this system, or of that still young and imperfect socialism whose first seeds have germinated in a country embracing one sixth of the surface of the globe. This test is being conducted in the face of the vast peasant masses of the Soviet Union, for whom the nationalised industries shall, in the coming year, supply cheap goods, ensure the technical revival of agriculture and raise the cultural level of the rural population. The Russian workers are also undergoing this test for the benefit of the international proletariat, in that they are tearing the poisoned weapons of counter-revolutionary propaganda from the hands of social democracy and awakening in the European working class a belief in the revolution and in its own strength, thanks to the success of socialist construction in the workers' and peasants' state of Soviet Russia.

It is precisely for this reason that the declaration of Purcell, who in his greetings to the Congress called attention to the first successes of our working class, has a deep symptomatic importance. This declaration in itself, and Purcell's wish "to experience similar changes in England", form an essential portion of that Anglo-Russian workers' agreement which has now been confirmed in Moscow between the Russian and English trade Unions.

The fact that Purcell could make such a declaration, which is in profound contradiction to everything that the "Vorwärts" is now writing over Soviet Russia, shows that, like Finmen, he had to experience an entire change of outlook, which reflects certain changes which are now taking place in the European working class, and before all in England. It was not for nothing that History and the Conservatives tried the experiment of the "bloodless victory" of the English Labour government in January of this year. MacDonald's entry into the government and his departure, as well as the whole policy of the labour government, so little resemble "similar changes" in Russia, that the English working masses could not avoid drawing many lessons therefrom. Great as the differences of opinion are which separate us from people of the type of Purcell, both from the political and practical point of view, it must nevertheless be recognised that Purcell's "evolution" can in no way be regarded as a mere personal affair. It is a reflex of the elementary need of the English working class to seek for certain new methods in the struggle, in view of the increasing discontent with the old semi-liberal policy of the trade unions. This is what comprises the political import of the Moscow demonstration of the linking up of the English and Russian workers, which renders the English bourgeoisie and their parrot, the German social democratic Party, so furious.

But the Congress was not merely a demonstration of unity. Its significance was far deeper. The demonstration of unity had already taken place in Hull. For the first time since the war, which had torn asunder the bands uniting the international labour movement, the representatives of the most powerful English trade unions came together with the representatives of the Russian revolutionary trade union movement. The Hull Congress had confined itself to this demonstration, but the Moscow Congress went further.

In the first place there took place in Moscow the coming together of the leaders of the English trade unions, not only with the Russian Trade unionists, but with the red section of the international trade union movement in general. Whatever important role the Russian trade unions who represent the back bone of the R.I.L.U. may play, they are still bound by international discipline. Their practical steps in the direction of the unity of trade unions can only be carried out with the closest co-operation of the French C.G.T.U., of the German, the Czechish and other comrades. If there are people in the Amster-

dam International who naively believed that one could oppose the Russian trade unions to the red trade union movement of other countries, they must have been compelled to abandon these illusions after the experiences of the Moscow Congress. The unity of the trade union movement can only be established on an international scale, otherwise this unity would be quite impossible.

In the second place the urge after unity in Moscow differed from the Hull Congress in that it found expression in the creation of the Anglo-Russian Committee for the unity of the trade union movement. This fact leads our whole campaign in Europe for the unity of the trade union movement on a new path. If up to now the campaign in favour of unity was regarded by our European comrades from a somewhat abstract standpoint, the formation of the Anglo-Russian Committee has now given it a concrete form. The sincere supporters of unity of the trade union movement have now a definite starting point for their propaganda. It is particularly important for those countries where, as a result of the splitting policy of the reformist leaders, the trade union movement is entirely disunited.

The Anglo-Russian Unity Committee is not a chance episode which can be disregarded. It is scarcely possible at present to foresee all the possibilities. But one does not need to be a great optimist in order to say that, under certain circumstances, this event can become a new turning point in the international labour movement. One must also not forget that behind the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee there stand 11½ million organised workers, who for the time being are still divided in two international organisations, but who are sincerely endeavouring to forge a single international organisation. The reformists of Germany, France and Czechoslovakia may ignore this desire for unity and stigmatise this event as one of the usual "manoeuvres" of Moscow, without considering the full consequences of their insane policy as regards its effect upon the mood of the masses.

But this state of affairs imposes serious obligations upon the Red Trade unions and upon our communist sections. One must frankly recognise that our campaign on behalf of the unity of the trade union movement has not gone with a swing. We have merely spoken of the necessity of winning the masses from below for unity, but we have not accomplished it. In the next few months therefore we must carry on the most far-reaching agitation in the workshops in favour of unity; we must get the working masses to take up a definite attitude to the tasks and the aims of the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee. It is necessary that this campaign shall not only represent the desire for restoration of unity of the divided unions, but that it shall also provide a means for the recruiting of new unorganised sections of the proletariat for the trade unions.

This campaign has all the greater importance, in that in the next few months the consequences of the Dawes Plan will make themselves felt and the offensive of capital against the workers on a world scale will commence. This in turn will unavoidably evoke the defensive action of the working class and lead to bitter conflicts between labour and capital. Our communist sections must make use of these economic struggles in order to penetrate deeper into the masses. The bolshevised Parties require the bolshevised masses. Without these masses all our decisions for bolshevising the Parties will merely remain on paper; for there will be lacking the chief condition for bolshevising the Party — contact with the masses. The power of bolshevism consists in the fact that it moves the masses.

We are firmly convinced that in the next few months the campaign for the unity of the trade unions will meet with the greatest response in the ranks of the workers of all countries.

A Counter-Manoeuvre of Gompers.

By N. Bucharin.

The rapprochement between the trade unions of Great Britain and those of the Soviet Union is arousing the attention of the enemies of the revolutionary movement. This is quite understandable: it is not without reason that we speak not only of the historical, but of the world historical significance of the transformation which is taking place among the English working class. Hence the excitement prevailing among our enemies; hence the "Vorwärts", this rotten paper of a rotten social democracy, has twice slandered Purcell in characterising his speech as a forgery and has thus impudently deceived the German workers. Hence the Russian mensheviks are carrying on in their paper,

"Socialist News", a campaign against Edo Fimmen on account of his support of the unity of the international trade union movement. Hence the American Federation of Labour is drawn into the struggle. Hence Gompers is also beginning to interfere in "European affairs", — this old henchman of American capital, this old servitor and cunning rascal who has grown grey in the service of his masters, this leader of the Federation of Labour to whom even Amsterdam appears as too "socialistic".

Mr. Gompers is commencing an intervention in Europe similar to that of his American masters, who cross the frontiers of their beloved fatherland and go hawking round with a sack full of dollars and put their legs on the table of European democracy.

Mr. Gompers obviously believes he can rescue the position of the specially obstinate right section of the Amsterdam International. In this respect he is copying the late President of Wilson, who for a long time tolerated the "barbarism" of Germany, but at the decisive moment "lost patience" and "intervened" in the European war, thus converting it into the world war and insuring the victory of the Entente.

And in the same way Mr. Gompers also believes that the left tendencies in Amsterdam have acquired a dangerous preponderance. Please understand! The English trade unions are negotiating — not in dreams but in broad daylight — with the bolsheviks of the Soviet Union. And old Purcell shakes hands with the ex-convict Tomsy! Is not the end of the world approaching?

And Mr. Gompers is rallying the forces of the American Federation of Labour and is beginning to speak of returning to the Amsterdam International in order to "rescue" it from the intolerable influence of our trade unions. It is quite obvious that Mr. Gompers will either endeavour to destroy the Anglo-Russian trade union block, or to suppress our trade unions within the Amsterdam International by isolating them from the revolutionary trade unions of other countries. It is only for this "noble" aim that the "trade unionist" American agency of capital has stirred itself.

Both English and Russian trade unions must be on the alert. For the mutual relations between these two strongest branches of the European trade union movement which have been established with such pains, can be exposed to a danger on the part of the American Federation of Labour, which did not break away from the Amsterdam International in order to fight on the side of the revolution, but because it has gone over unconditionally and completely, body and soul, to the side of American capitalism.

Even in the sphere of international politics Mr. Gompers adopts a definitely white-guardist line. While the British trade unions fought against the bourgeoisie under the slogan of the Anglo-Russian Commercial Treaty; whilst even the English Labour Party went into the election campaign under this banner, Mr. Gompers conducted a bitter fight against the de-jure recognition of the Soviet Union. In other words, he, the alleged "labour leader" proved himself to be more reactionary than the English Conservatives! And now, this gentleman, who has helped the Conservatives to beat the English Labour Party and the English Trade Unions, is prepared to appear in the role of the saviour and messiah of the "fallen" Amsterdam International. This truly ridiculous, pompous behaviour of this gentleman will, we hope, be repudiated by all sensible workers who understand that the working class must have nothing to do with an immediate confederate of Curzon and Churchill.

The Question of the Unity of the Trade Union Movement.*)

By A. A. Purcell.

The question of the unity of national federations within one international federation constitutes a most highly interesting problem for our consideration. One must, however, only consider it from one particular point of view, which could indicate the surest, and hence the shortest way to its realisation. In the first place we must admit that all parties have committed a great number of errors and that hardly anyone can be freed from this reproach. But to investigate exactly to what extent the one party

*) Re-translated from the Russian.

or the other is deserving of reproach would be a useless waste of valuable time and energy. Therefore we can disregard the past, as well as the question of apportioning blame, and once and for all give up indulging in mutual recriminations. We have already lost too much time with such things, which has not helped to narrow down our differences but on the contrary has widened them. Personal differences have often created friction which could easily have been removed if both sides had not proclaimed them from the house tops.

A further hindrance has been the following: Many comrades have proclaimed in the loudest manner the necessity of declaring that only an energetic attack upon capitalism can lead to the broad highway of the solidarity of the working class; the other side have regarded this as something superfluous, urging that such a declaration has been repeated a hundred times in the course of the last twenty years etc. Whatever the case may be, and apart from the question what sacrifices it may require, the cause of international unity is of such enormous importance, that not a single person, not a single nation can consider themselves as too big to remain outside the great international family. In the same way as the national trade union federations allow a place in their midst for every member, regardless as to how far he may differ from the point of view of the leadership, the International must also serve for all national organisations as a powerful instrument, strong enough to lift the whole working class out of the slough of capitalism; an aim in order to achieve which it is absolutely necessary to make use of every means.

But if there exists a capitalist slough there also exists a slough of the international trade union movement.

So far as I am aware the national organisations which we have in mind are permeated by the definite desire to work for the overthrow of capitalism. Our chief difficulty now consists in finding out methods. It is this which has roused a great storm. But a storm always arises when different points of view clash with one another. Our chief task at present is to unite the divided heads of the international labour movement.

Neither the International Federation of Trade Unions nor the Red International of Labour Unions can be in any way satisfied with the situation at present obtaining; neither the one nor the other can say that they really comprise the working class of the whole world — and this expression is to be understood in the actual sense of the word.

But if this is the case there naturally arises a simple proposal, and I believe that if the General Council of the British Trade Unions were requested to take over the task of uniting, in the near future, the divided European labour movement, my colleagues would regard this as a request to perform a useful service in the interest of solidarity, and I am convinced that it will be certainly possible to obtain their consent to this.

But if are contemplating a meeting of this sort, then I believe that the past must be regarded as dead and buried, and that the only question which has to be considered and solved is the question of the present and future organising of the international working class of Europe. To speak and to judge of other matters would be a huge mistake. It will be the duty of every one taking part in such a conference not to rake up questions regarding the dead and regrettable past, but to go there with the sole purpose of leading the great working class movement out of the wilderness.

I may be asked: why only the European organisations? Because this is the most important thing, the rest will follow. In addition to this other organisations will soon understand that their affiliation is also desirable.

I therefore appeal to all to enter into this campaign for a real anti-capitalist and genuine proletarian class International, in the spirit of the sincere desire for brotherhood and unity. If everybody follows this course, then we shall succeed. We are able to do innumerable things. We can arouse and fill with joy the hearts of millions of fellow-workers who are hopefully awaiting a real inspiring leadership, which there is no doubt a strong, united, all-embracing international federation can give them.

This would mean a blow at the very heart of international capitalism, and this alone justifies such an attempt.

A Demonstration of the Moscow Proletariat.

For the Unity of the International Trade Union Movement.

On the 16th of November there took place before the Trade Union headquarters, where the VI. Congress of the Russian Trade unions is being held, a magnificent demonstration of the working masses of Moscow. This demonstration — a welcome to the VI. Trade Union Congress on the part of the workers of Moscow — was at the same time a demonstration for the unity of the labour movement of Russia and England.

At 2 o'clock in the afternoon, from all parts of Moscow, numerous demonstrations from the Moscow factories, workshops, institutions, high-schools etc. began streaming towards the trade union premises. The delegations marched to the accompaniment of music and singing.

At half past two the Presidium of the VI. Congress and the English delegation mounted an improvised tribune. Below along the facade of the Trade Union headquarters the delegates of the Congress took up their positions.

The march-past of the demonstrators lasted more than three hours. The thousands of participants in the procession marched by in an unbroken stream.

The English delegation was the central point of the general attention. The demonstrators accorded the members of the English delegation uninterrupted ovations and greeted in them the English working class. The flags bore inscriptions which pointed the way to the English workers: "Follow the example of the Russian workers! — Chase away your bourgeoisie!" "March more boldly forward; seize the bourgeoisie by the throat; English workers, act in the Russian manner!"

The procession as it marched past was greeted by the Congress delegates and the English delegation. "Long live the Russian workers!" cried a delegate "Long live the Soviet Republic!" cried another, which was responded to with three cheers.

The appearance of the Red Army and the civil guard aroused special enthusiasm among the English. And the English delegation sang revolutionary songs along with all present below.

When the crowd, gathered round the platform, learned that in England, instead of exclaiming "down with" one expresses execration by a long drawn-out "Book!" they began to cry out: "Booh Baldwin!", "Booh Curzon!" and the English smiled with amusement at these familiar tones.

Congratulatory speeches:

A. A. Purcell:

"The present demonstration is an excellent indication of the mind of the workers of Moscow and of the whole of Russia. This demonstration shows definitely that the workers of the Soviet Union are for the unity of the working class, for the unity of the trade union movement.

The workers of England are likewise in favour of this unity. The English delegation is not only for the unity of the workers of Russia and England, but also for the unity of the world proletariat. Our entire activity and all our thoughts are at present directed to the realisation of this unity.

Long live the workers of the Soviet Union!

Long live the unity of the international trade union movement!"

J. Bromley:

"Today is one of those days which are very rare, but which are of great value for those who are active in the interests of the working class of the whole world. This demonstration fills us old grey heads with new enthusiasm, it increases our energy for continuing the struggle of the working class. Boldly forwards!"

F. Bramley:

It has been worth while travelling many thousands of versts in order to see this demonstration. This demonstration is for us a clear proof that the working class of the Soviet Union is closely united and bound together. I would that the workers of England would stick together like the workers of the Soviet Union.

Forward and strengthen the Union of Soviet Republics! The workers of England greet you!"

Ben Tillett:

The appearance of the oldest English trade unionist upon the tribune was greeted with specially enthusiastic applause.

"When you return from this demonstration to your houses, factories and workshops," said Ben Tillett, "and continue to work at the consolidation of your State, you will know that the English working class pledges itself to support consistently the Soviet Union and its activity".

Speech of Comrade Melnitskansky.

In reply to the speeches of welcome, comrade Melnitskansky, speaking in English, addressed the following words to the English delegation:

"After seven years of existence of the Soviet government, after seven years of struggle, there are still people to be found who assert that in Russia the working class is suppressed, that with us the workers are driven to work with a stick.

Today's demonstration is a proof that the workers of Russia are really free."

Against the Death Sentences imposed upon the Esthonian Communists.

During the course of the demonstration news arrived that the Esthonian law court had condemned the Esthonian communist, Jan Tomp, to death for contempt of court.

Comrade Melnitskansky communicated this fact to the demonstrators. He stated: "We must express our protest and our indignation against the sentence of the Esthonian bourgeoisie. Down with the Esthonian bourgeoisie! Long live the working class of Esthonia!"

The Representative of the Norwegian Trade Unions.

The last speech of congratulations to the demonstrators was delivered by the representative of the Norwegian trade unions, Comrade Volan.

"We Norwegians" said Comrade Volan, "are working in the same direction as you, who have concluded your work with the victory of the October revolution. Our fight is carried on in the name of the social world revolution, in the name of the victory of Labour over Capital".

The march past of the demonstration lasted until six o'clock; the last procession sang along with the trade union Congress and the English delegation "The International".

THE WHITE TERROR**The Trial of the 149 Revolutionary Workers of Esthonia.**

Moscow, 21st November 1924.

In the further course of the Reval trial the reading of documentary evidence has begun, which however has proved nothing new.

The defenders from the Soviet Union demanded by the accused, whose admittance was agreed to "in principle" by the court, but to whom the Esthonian Foreign Ministry refused to grant permits to enter the country, have now for the fourth time demanded from the Esthonian Foreign Ministry permits to enter the country. The Esthonian government has rejected this request on the ground that no new defenders can be admitted during the course of the proceedings.

Moscow, 24th November 1924.

On the twelfth day of the trial at Reval the Public Prosecutor delivered his speech for the prosecution. It is significant that he had to admit that the evidence given by the police agents who were brought forward as witnesses was not entirely trustworthy. The Prosecutor tried to excuse himself in this respect, by saying that it would have been impossible to summon other witnesses as these would have been afraid of the vengeance of the working class. In any case he considered the fact of the membership of the accused of organisations of the Communist International as proved.

The Public Prosecutor therefore proposed life long imprisonment for the accused leaders, and for the accused members of the organisations, six to fifteen years imprisonment.

Throughout the whole Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, every day huge meetings of the workers, who are roused to indignation at the misdeeds of the Esthonian bourgeoisie, and demonstrations against the bloody trial at Reval are taking place.

Moscow, 28th November 1924.

After the speeches for the defence, there followed the concluding statements of the accused. The accused declared themselves to be communists. One of them said:

"We were communists and we remain communists. We regard it as futile to defend ourselves before the bourgeois court."

Another one declared:

"We know that judgment has already been decided. We say to you: "Today you, the bourgeoisie, pronounce judgment against us, to-morrow the working people will pronounce judgment against you. The more we are persecuted, the more will we be understood by the working masses."

Thereupon the court pronounced the following monstrous sentences of vindictive justice of the Esthonian bourgeoisie:

39 of the accused were condemned to hard labour for life, 28 to 15 years, 6 to 12 years, 19 to 10 years, 5 to 8 years, 15 to 6 years and 16 to 4 years hard labour.

AGAINST TROTZKYISM**The Communist Youth and October.**

Declaration of the Russian Communist-Leninist Youth League on Comrade Trotsky's "Lessons of October".

The foundation of the Bolshevik education for the youth is the study of the history of the Party. The young generation of our Party will only become true Bolsheviks, the Communist Youth will only deserve its title "Communist Leninist Youth", when they have learned to understand and assimilate the experiences of the recent revolutionary fight in its true significance, in the spirit of Lenin's doctrines. History is of special importance to us because it is the arsenal from which we shall obtain our weapons for the coming fight. From wrong representation of the past history of our Party and wrong doctrines extracted from past experience, false conclusions as to the present and future may and will inevitably ensue. The more important the epoch concerned, the greater will be the importance of a right, i. e. Bolshevik interpretation of this period.

In the "Lessons of October", which forms the introduction to Comrade Trotsky's recently published book "1917", he, in our opinion, approaches one of the most important facts in the history of the Party, the October Revolution, from a wrong and politically extremely dangerous point of view. The "Lessons of October", however, are, on the one hand, only a continuation of a whole chain of mistakes and misrepresentations which accompany the exposition of other stages of the fight in a series of previous books, articles and speeches of Comrade Trotsky. On the other hand, Comrade Trotsky in his last work deals with this question, not only from its historical side, but he develops as regards the questions of the international Communist movement, his political programme which differs essentially from the point of view of the leading personalities of the Party and from the last Congress of the International. For this reason the "Russian Leninist Communist Youth League" cannot leave Comrade Trotsky's statements unchallenged, and considers it its duty to declare its position with regard to it.

It is our custom to regard respect for the Party and sacrifice for the Party — both for the Party as a whole and the Party as a body of combatants — as the fundamental duty of every Bolshevik. Lenin, whose name our League is proud to bear, and the Party are for us identical. Lenin never placed himself above the Party. He marched before it. He saw further than anyone. But then, Lenin was the leader of the Party, its first and best soldier, its standard-bearer. Lenin cannot be separated from the Party, nor the Party from Lenin.

In this spirit the Communist Youth League was trained under Lenin's leadership. That is why we must raise a protest against the misrepresentation of the Bolshevik Party and its part in the October revolution which is contained in Comrade Trotsky's "Lessons of October".

The Bolshevik Party, the chief factor in the October Revolution, is entirely absent from the picture which Comrade Trotsky draws. Where do we find the Central Committee, which led the fight against Kornilow and which prepared and organized the insurrection? Where do we find the Petrograd Committee? Where are the individual sections of Petrograd? Where are the agitation, the organizing work, the activity in the factories and the military units? Where is the organization of Moscow? Where do we find the masses who grouped themselves round Lenin and supported him without doubt or hesitation? All this has simply no existence for him, or is only mentioned in the third place. Instead of the Party he always places the personalities of the leaders in the foreground.

On the contrary, all the mistakes which were made by the closest disciples of Lenin during the eight months of the revolution, are recalled to our memory and represented in close columns so as to give the impression of the existence of a Right fraction opposed to Lenin.

On the other hand, the facts which are calculated to depreciate the Party in the eyes of the reader who did not personally experience "October", and is not sufficiently well up in its written history, are underlined and brought into relief. The majority of the Bolshevik fraction took up a wrong position at the Democratic Conference in 1917 when it voted for a participation in the preliminary Parliament. Comrade Trotsky writes: "The fraction at the Democratic Conference, 100 persons strong, was at this period in no way distinguished from the Party". Why did Comrade Trotsky have to identify the fraction with the Party? This is contrary to the truth. For the congresses of the Party, which alone had the right to speak in the name of the Party (April-Conference 1917, 6th Congress) had entirely subscribed to Lenin's views. Perhaps it is only done to depreciate the Party and to make certain saviours seem all the greater.

There is no Party. The leaders act instead of the Party. Lenin gives advice from a distance, not without making mistakes in practical questions (as to the time of the revolution, as to the "legality of the Soviets", as to the beginning of the insurrection in Moscow). The action is carried on outside the Party, in spite of the Party, by isolated leaders, in the first place by Comrade Trotsky himself.

Comrade Trotsky pushes the Party aside and finally denies its significance. The Communist Youth, which contains the nucleus of those who took part in the October Revolution, must refute this way of representing things. October was the work of the whole Party, under Lenin's guidance.

Comrade Trotsky criticizes without any consideration the mistakes made by Comrades Zinoviev and Kamenew at the time of the October Revolution. These mistakes are well known; they were long ago recognised and corrected by those who committed them. Anyone who knows anything about the Bolshevik Party, knows that the temporary mistakes made by these comrades at the time of the October Revolution are as nothing compared to their work and their services in the period of twenty years before and after October. Everyone knows that Lenin appreciated the work of these comrades and the significance of their mistakes. He wrote in his letter of 1920 to the Italian Communists:

"On the eve of the October revolution and on the following day, some excellent Communists made a mistake which one is loth to remember. Why? Because it is unjust unnecessarily to recall mistakes of this kind when amends have been completely made. Within a few weeks, or at the most a few months, all these comrades recognised their mistakes and returned to the most responsible positions in the Party and the Soviets."

These mistakes and this hesitation cannot of course be erased from the history of the October revolution. But the mere reading of the "Lessons of October" is enough to convince one that his object is not to represent past mistakes, but to raise a particularly pointed polemic against two comrades who hold

leading positions in our Party — a polemic which Comrade Trotsky continues by connecting it with old mistakes corrected long ago, and which is, as a matter of fact, nothing but an attempt, after his defeat in the Party discussions, to make use of old dissensions in order to bring about a change in the present policy.

Comrade Trotsky not only finds strong terms with which to qualify actual mistakes, he inflates the mistakes themselves. Thus he quotes from the letter of October 1917, which is signed by Kamenew and Zinoviev, the following passage: "The Constituent Assembly and the Soviets are the combined type of State institutions towards which we are steering" — and makes the following comment:

"It is strikingly characteristic of the whole attitude of the Right, that the theory of the "combined State", which places the Constituent Assembly and the Soviets on one level, was repeated 18 months to 2 years later in Germany by Rudolf Hillerding, who also combatted the seizure of power by the proletariat. The Austro-German opportunist did not know that he was plagiarizing."

We know no worse insult to the members of the Communist Party than that of comparing them to that opportunist scoundrel Hillerding. But Comrade Trotsky forgets what Lenin wrote on Oct. 6th 1917:

"In the transition from the old to the new, "combined types", appropriate to the times (just such as the "Arbeiter-Weg") bore witness to) such as the Republic of Soviets and the Constituent Assembly, are possible."

The conclusions which may be drawn from this are, firstly, that on the eve of the insurrection Lenin and the whole Central Committee of the Party (the "Arbeiter-Weg") still believed in the possibility of a simultaneous existence of the Constituent Assembly and the Soviets, further, that it is by no means the same thing to speak of the type of the "combined State" on the eve of our October revolution and after experiencing the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia, finally, that great care should be exercised in the choice of comparisons.

Recognised and corrected mistakes are no longer a danger to the Party. Lenin himself wrote that "it is not right to recall them". But the old mistakes become a danger to the present action if they are continued or concealed.

Comrade Trotsky invites us to study the October revolution. But October is indissolubly bound up with the whole previous and subsequent history of the Party. In his various arguments Comrade Trotsky throws no light on the numerous differences of opinion between himself and Lenin, nor even on the fight which he carried on against Lenin; he denies or conceals his past errors. Comrade Trotsky found himself in opposition to Lenin in the question of the rôle of the peasantry in the first Russian revolution in 1905, and in the question of the "permanent revolution". Has he recognised the correctness of Lenin's point of view? Quite the contrary. He speaks of the "ideological adaptation" which Bolshevism experienced in 1917, of Lenin arriving at Trotsky's point of view, instead of vice versa. In the "Lessons of October" he actually repeats and develops the same point of view. During the war, Comrade Trotsky differed in his opinions on various fundamental questions from Lenin. Has he recognised that Lenin was in the right? Never and in no place does he declare that he has relinquished his former points of view; he confines himself to explaining that the revolution of February and March settled the old dissensions. Nevertheless Lenin, in his letters from abroad, which were written after the February-March revolution and have been recently published, warns the Party against Comrade Trotsky's interpretation of the main question — the question of joining the Social Chauvinists and the Centrists.

Comrade Trotsky committed one of his most serious mistakes in the epoch of the negotiations at Brest-Litovsk. Instead of acknowledging his faults with the courage of a Bolshevik, he uses every effort in his book on Lenin to minimize and veil his past errors, and that by discussing an analogous mistake which Lenin is said to have made "with less risk" at the

¹) The "Arbeiter-Weg", which appeared instead of the suppressed "Prawda" was, at that time, the central organ of the party; and the article quoted by Lenin to the annoyance of Comrade Trotsky, issued from Zinoviev's pen.

moment of the advance on Warsaw. The greatest contrast of views between Trotsky and Lenin was in 1921 on the question of the Trade Unions; he opposed Lenin and the whole Leninist group of the Central Committee and the Trade Unions. Anyone reading the Minutes of the 10th and 11th Party conferences will see that Comrade Trotsky conceals and evades this mistake as he does the others. Finally, at the end of 1923 and the beginning of 1924, Comrade Trotsky appeared in the rôle of the leader of the petty-bourgeois anti-Leninist opposition in the bosom of the Russian Communist Party. No one has forgotten his speech at the 13th Party Conference in which he refused to acknowledge his mistakes although a long series of facts had refuted all the fundamental assertions of the opposition.

Comrade Trotsky justifies and minimizes his past faults. He misrepresents history and the doctrines of October. We feel it our duty to declare that Comrade Trotsky prevents the Youth from understanding the history of the Party aright. His articles and speeches which are devoted to the past history of our Party, are obstacles to the Bolshevik education of the Youth.

What political significance has Comrade Trotsky's action? It becomes evident in the international platform which Comrade Trotsky expounds in his most recent speeches and in his "Lessons of October". It is in reality a platform of the Right. The anticipation of a relatively long democratic pacifist era, the weakening of the German revolution etc. — these points of view reveal Trotsky as sympathising with the Right of the Comintern. But the opportunist elements of the C. I., as well as the petty-bourgeois "opposition" of our own Party, direct their attack against the old guard of Bolshevism and their leadership in the R. C. P. and in the C. I. Comrade Trotsky comes to their assistance by blurring his former errors and his opportunist digressions, misstating the past history of the Party and, in his "Lessons of October", undermining the confidence in the old cadres of Bolshevism. Comrade Trotsky makes use of his Left attitude in 1917 in order to stretch out a hand to the opportunists of 1924.

We reply to the appeal of Comrade Trotsky: "Study October!" This call is obviously specially meant to appeal to the generation which did not experience October, but which is predestined to complete its work. The Communist Youth must, however, study October in its full significance: in its preparation, its completion and its continuation. It must study the experiences of October in close connection with the whole history of the Bolshevik Party. The history of October of course still needs working out; but the best clues to its comprehension are in the works of Lenin.

We are, however, against such a method of study which leads to the misrepresentation of history and to the preparation of a political platform with a bias towards the Right, which is opposed to the attitude of our Party and of the Comintern. Our duty is — to understand in Lenin's spirit the whole history of the Party, and especially the pages referring to October. Neither the previous actions of Comrade Trotsky nor his new book can serve us as a guide on this path.

The Central Committee of the Communist Leninist Youth League of Russia.

The Moscow Committee.
The Leningrad Committee.

WORKERS' CORRESPONDENCE

The Forthcoming All-Russian Congress of Workers' Correspondents.

On the Fifth of December the "Pravda", the Central Organ of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik), and the editorial board of the periodical "Workers' Correspondent" is convening in Moscow a conference of workers, village and military correspondents, for the purpose of reviewing the work of the last few months. The workers' correspondents' movement is as yet in its infancy abroad, and nothing is as yet known about village and military correspondents. But in the U. S. S. R. workers' correspondents are an army 100,000 strong which is keeping watch over the interests of the working class. Workers' Correspondents stir up public opinion, they expose all relics of the old capitalist order, and we must admit that there are still a good few of them left in the U. S. S. R. The Party was not slow in appreciating the value of this movement, and Comrade Zinoviev said in one of his speeches that the growth of the workers' correspondents movement is — "much more than a literary success, for this is not only a literary question, but a question of the further development of bolshevism". It is but natural that the Party and all Soviet institutions should pay attention to the voice of the workers' correspondents. Prosecuting magistrates accept the information supplied by workers' correspondents and institute immediate investigations. Experience has shown that the number of unfounded statements in workers' correspondents' letters is decreasing daily. At one of the conferences the representative of the prosecuting magistrates' office declared that 90% of the workers' correspondents communications on the strength of which investigations were instituted were absolute facts and were instrumental in necessary measures being taken and an end being put to the abuses. As it is to be expected, workers' correspondents have many enemies. All those with predatory propensities, those who like spiders try to bring the unwary into their web, hate workers' correspondents, and in their hatred do not even stop short of murder.

Much was accomplished during the last 12 months. It will be left to the conference to sum up all that has been achieved.

The first item on the agenda is — international information for workers' correspondents. A beginning has already been made in this connection. Russian workers' correspondents relate to their foreign comrades details of their life and work, and in answer to their letters receive communications from all parts of Europe. But this correspondence is as yet of a casual nature. By extending this work and by systematising it, we will contribute to the solution of the burning question of the day: the bolshevisation of the Communist Party, as comrade Zinoviev said, "we have already districts where workers' correspondents are evolving into Party "organisers". We are convinced that the workers of Western countries will be very interested in this conference, which is another step towards a closer contact between working class communists of all countries.

Note: Under the above heading, "Workers' Correspondence", we shall from time to time publish letters from Russian workers, dealing with life and conditions of work etc. in the Soviet Union from the direct point of view of the worker in the factory and workshop.

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